

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6575

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E.O. 11652: X-GDS-2

TAGF: PFOR, AO, CT, OAU

SUBJECT: ANGOLA AND OAU SUMMIT: PRESIDENTIAL DEMARCHE

REF: STATE 010166

1. SUMMARY. DURING COURSE OF EXTENDED FOUR-DAY WEEKEND WITH PRESIDENT BOKASSA AT N'DELE/AWAGABA PRESIDENTIAL PARK, CHARGE HAD SEVERAL OCCASIONS INCLUDING 45 MINUTE WORKING SESSION ON ANGOLA JANUARY 19 TO GO OVER WITH HIM POINT BY POINT SUBSTANCE OF STATE 010166 AND TO OBTAIN HIS VIEWS IN RESPONSE. END SUMMARY.

2. BOKASSA EXPRESSED JUDGMENT THAT ANTI-MPLA FORCES HAD BEEN THE VICTORS AT SPECIAL ADDIS OAU SUMMIT EVEN THOUGH IT HAD TO BE ADMITTED THAT THE OUTCOME FELL FAR SHORT OF HIS HOPES. HE THINKS THE TURNING POINT AT ADDIS WAS THE DEFECTION OF NIGER AND MAURITIUS FROM THE PRO-MPLA SIDE AND IN THIS RESPECT BOKASSA FEELS THAT HIS SUMMIT SPEECH PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE. HE HAD BEEN PARTICULARLY HARD ON THE SOVIET UNION HE SAID. HE TOLD CAMEROONIAN FONMIN WHO HAD FOUGHT UNDER HIS COMMAND IN SECOND WORLD WAR THAT IF THE COMMUNIST RESOLUTION WERE PASSED THE CAR WOULD LEAVE THE OAU AND INSIST THAT THE ANGOLAN SITUATION BE BROUGHT BEFORE THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL.

3. BOKASSA BELIEVES THAT THE MAIN DRIVING FORCE ON THE SECRET

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MPLA SIDE, APART FROM SOVIET UNION WHICH IN HIS VIEW CAME TO

SUMMIT BETTER PREPARED THAN "WESTERN" GROUP, WERE SUCH STATES AS BENIN, NIGERIA, ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA AND GUINEA. BOKASSA FULLY EXPECTS CONTINUED PRESSURE FROM THEM BUT HE SAYS THAT IN CASE OF CAR IT WILL PRODUCE ABSOLUTELY NO MODIFICATION OF CAR POSITION. ON OTHER SIDE OF COIN, BOKASSA SAID NOTHING SHORT OF A RADICAL REPLACEMENT OF REGIMES SUCH AS THOSE IN BENIN AND NIGERIA, FOR BOTH OF WHOM HE HAD ONLY THE STRONGEST OF CRITICISMS, COULD BRING THESE COUNTRIES TO ADOPT AN ANTI-MPLA LINE.

4. PRESIDENT BOKASSA CONVEYED TO CHARGE HIS DEEP CONCERN FOR HIS PERSONAL SECURITY AS A RESULT OF VOCIFEROUS ANTI-SOVIET, ANTI-MPLA PUBLIC POSTURE AT ADDIS ABABA. HE SAID HE HAD INEVITABLY ALIENATED NUMBER OF AFRICAN CHIEFS OF STATE SUCH AS BARRIE (SOMALIA) WHO HAD TRIED WITHOUT SUCCESS TO SEE HIM FOR TWO DAYS AT ADDIS. BOKASSA SAID HIS PACIFIST VIEWS ARE NOT POPULAR WITH THE COMMUNISTS, AND HE WONDERED IN WHAT MEASURE THE UNITED STATES MIGHT BE ABLE TO HELP INSURE HIS OWN SECURITY AND THAT OF CAR. BOKASSA SAID HE SEES IN HIMSELF A PARTISAN OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF SOUTH AFRICA, FOR DIFFERENT REASON, IN ANGOLAN POLICY. HOWEVER, HE FEELS HIMSELF GRADUALLY BEING ENCIRCLED BY OUTRIGHT COMMUNIST OR LEFT-LEANING REGIMES MENTIONING CONGO AND CHAD AND IN NEED OF A "CERTAIN PROTECTION". ALTHOUGH HE CONSIDERS CAMEROON AFTER SOME INITIAL WAVERING TO BE SQUARELY IN OUR CAMP ON ANGOLAN QUESTION, BOKASSA NONE-THELESS ANXIOUS ABOUT LONG-RANGE OUTLOOK AS CAR'S ACCESS TO SEA TOTALLY DEPENDANT UPON PORTS OF POINTE-NOIRE (CONGO) AND DOUALA (CAMEROON).

5. RE NEXT STDPS CAR PRESIDENT SAID HE WISHED TO HAVE FURTHER WORKING SESSION WITH CHARGE AS SOON AS HE RETURNS FROM OFFICIAL STATE VISIT TO UGANDA NOW SCHEDULED FOR JANUARY 24. AT THAT TIME HE WOULD GIVE CHARGE A MEMORANDUM FOR TRANSMITTAL TO WASHINGTON WHICH WOULD SET FORTH VIEWS OF HOW HE AS MILITARY MAN WITH PACIFIST VIEWS SEES THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA. IN MEANTIME HE SAID HE WOULD WORK ON AMIN AT KAMPALA TO GO ON OFFENSIVE IN IMMEDIATE POST-OAU SUMMIT PERIOD. INCIDENTALLY HE DESCRIBED

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AMIN AS "UNSERIOUS" AND "UNRELIABLE? AND AS ONE WHO "CHANGED HIS HAT" WITH EACH CHANGE IN CLIMATE. HE EXPRESSED DEEP SEATED DISSATISFACTION WITH AMIN'S SUMMIT LEADERSHIP.

6. BOKASSA SEES CONGRESS AS KEY TO ATTAINMENT OF OUR COMMON ANGOLAN POLICY OBJECTIVES (CEASE-FIRE, WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN FORCES, FORMATIMN OF NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT).

CHARGE ASSURED BOKASSA THAT SECRETARY AND OTHER SENIOR
FORD ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS WOULD BE DEVOTING STRENUOUS
EFFORTS IN DAYS FOLLOWING RECONVENING OF CONGRESS TO OBTAIN
CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT IN THE ANGOLAN QUESTION. BOKASSA SAID
THAT HE AND AMERICA'S OTHER AFRICAN FRIENDS SIMPLY FAILED TO
UNDERSTAND CONGRESSIONAL BEHAVIOR TO DATE AS REGARDS ANGOLA.
HE WAS CERTAIN THAT NOT ONLY HE BUT OTHERS WOULD BE GLAD TO
TESTIFY IN WRITING OR IN PERSON TO THE IMPORTANCE TO ANGOLA'S
AND AFRICA'S FUTURE OF ONGOING UNITED STATES' MORAL AND MATERIAL
OPPOSITION TO WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS THE "DANGEROUS INTERNATIONAL
EXPANSIONIST AIMS" OF THE SOVIET UNION. ANGOLA HE SEES AS THE
BEGINNING OF A LONG-RANGE SOVIET PLAN TO CAPTURE FOR THEMSELVES
AND AWAY FROM THE WEST THE RICH AFRICAN RAW MATERIALS MARKETS
AND THEREBY TO CREATE IN THIS AREA A WESTERN DEPENDENCY ON
THE SOVIET UNION.
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